351
417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351
248 Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, [287] but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

354 The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.

372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

2: Meyer--254 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Village with Euphorbia Fence in the Hyphaene Steppe
of the Lower Ruzizi River
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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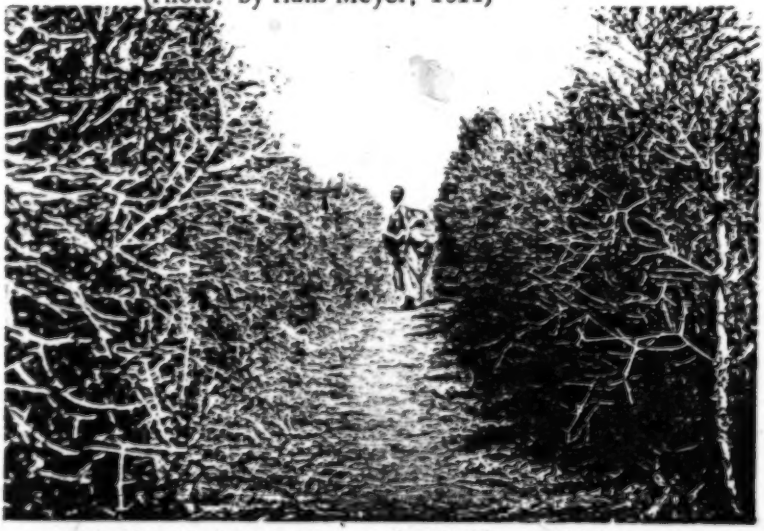

Euphorbia Hedges to Protect the Fields, near Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped.
[417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the
[177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula-
[534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

5: Pages--290 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi
FO42

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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

●447 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot [372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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The dynastic drums, with enemies' trophies

[Facing P. 134]